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Map Key and Documentary Sources

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MAP KEY AND DOCUMENTARY SOURCES¹

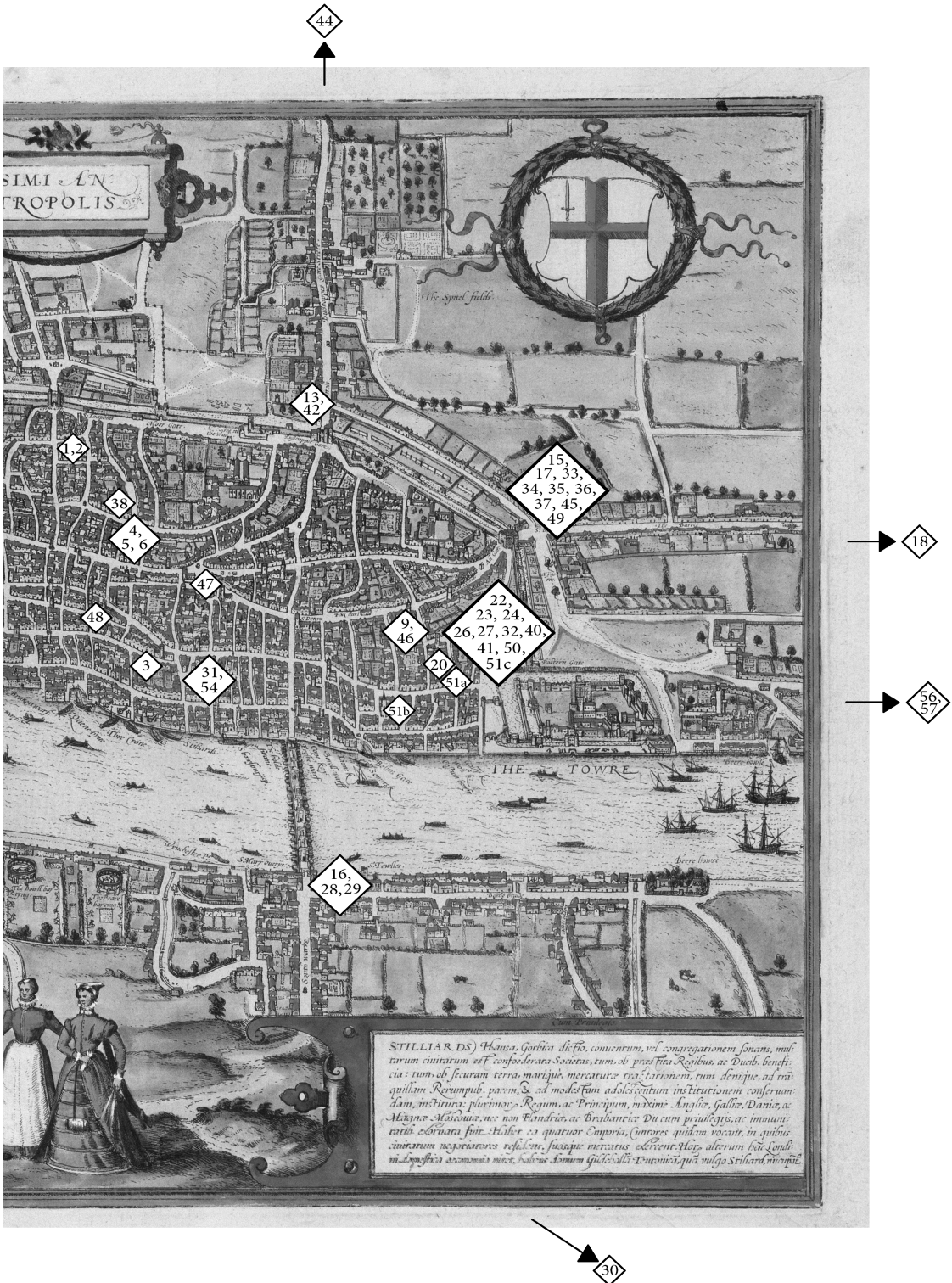
IMTIAZ HABIB

The Map Key (see pages 164–65) offers a partial representation of the locations of black people in Elizabethan London derived from documentary sources and superimposed on [Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg], *Londinum feracissimi Angliae Regni metropolis* ([Cologne], [1574]), hand-colored and letterpress text in Latin on back from 1635 edition; Folger Shakespeare Library Shelfmark: MAP L85c no.27. This map is used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License. All locations are approximate. For the locations that exceed the borders of the map, arrows indicate approximate direction. The numbered entries of the Documentary Sources correspond to the numbers on the Map Key. The list of Documentary Sources begins below and continues on page 166, following the Map Key. For a color image of this scholarly map with additional markings for recorded residential neighborhoods of theater personnel and for documented residences of Shakespeare in London, see the cover of this issue.

1. 6 May 1565, St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury, baptism: "Jhon the Blackamor." *Registers of St Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury*, ed. W. Bruce Bannerman (London: John Whitehead and Sons, 1931), p. 26.
2. 23 May 1566, St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury, burial: "Jhon, a Blackamoor." *Registers of St Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury*, ed. Bannerman, p. 27.
3. 15 December 1567, St. Michael Paternoster, (under "Vyntry Ward"): "Blackmor 2." "The Bishop of London's Certificate," in *A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs of the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth*, ed. S. Haynes, 2 vols. (London: William Bowyer, 1740), 1:457.
4. n. d. 1567, St. Olave, Old Jewry, (under "Vyntry Ward"): "Moore, Robert Tego, a Morisco servaunt with Thomas Castlyn Not denizens." *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, ed. R. E. G. and Ernest Kirk, 10 vols. (Nendeln, Leichtenstein: Kraus Reprints, 1969), 1:336.
5. n. d. 1567 (under the Ward of Colman Street): "St. Olives [sic] [St. Olave's, Old Jewry] "Niger 1." "The Bishop of London's Certificate," in *A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs of the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Haynes, 1:460.
6. n. d. 1567 (under "Bushopsgate Ward" [sic] [Bishopsgate Ward]): "Moryon 'Francys Fran,' in the house of . . . Peter Fanall 4 yeres No denizen." *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, ed. R. E. G. and Kirk, 1:323.
 - ❖ Note: For entries 4, 5, and 6, above, because St. Olave's, Old Jewry sat on the border of Colman Street Ward and Bishopsgate Ward, it was often identified interchangeably with the names of those two wards.
7. 27 September 1571, St. Martin in the Fields, burial record: "Septes Fuit Marareta a Moore [Margareta a Moore was seven]." *The Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials in the Parish of St. Martin in the Fields*, ed. John Mason (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1898–1936), p. 116.

¹ Data selection assistance provided by Michan Myer, MA, Old Dominion University.





8. 14 April 1574, Whitehall Palace, Westminster, Queen Elizabeth's household documents: "[given] a gasket Coate for a litell blak a More." BL Egerton 2806, fol. 270, warrant dated 14 April 1574; cited by Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds, UK: Maney, 1988), p. 106.
9. n. d. 1582, All Sayntes [sic] (Saints) Staynings Parish, Langbourne Ward, City Census and Tax Assessment: "In the house of John Baptista Sambitores: Fardinando, a blackamore . . . iiij d." *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, ed. R. E. G. and Kirk, 2:235; "1582 London Subsidy Roll: Langeburne [sic] [Langbourne] Ward," in *Two Tudor Subsidy Rolls for the City of London 1541 and 1582*, ed. R. G. Lang (London: London Record Society, 1993), p. 360; also available at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol29/pp259-69>.
 ❖ Note: All Saints, Stainings is later also known as All Hallows, Stainings.
10. 17 April 1584, Leicester House, Westminster, Household Records of the Estate of the Earl of Leicester: "Gyven in reward the same day by your lordship's commandment to the blackmore vs [5 shillings]." *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, ed. Simon Adams (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1995), p. 128.
11. 6 January 1585, Leicester House, Westminster, Household Records of the Earl of Leicester: "Gyven in reward . . . by your lordship's commandment to Mr. Rawles blackamore, xxx [i.e. twenty shillings]." *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, ed. Adams, p. 210.
 ❖ Note: For entries 10 and 11, above, Paget House became Leicester House when the Earl of Leicester took possession of the house in the 1580s and rebuilt it into an opulent mansion; see John Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1908), 2:92. Although Leicester also had apartments near Crychurch (Cree Church also known sometimes as St. Katherine Cree near St. Botolph Aldgate on the east side near the Tower), it is much more likely that the individuals mentioned in entries 10 and 11 were both connected to Leicester House and its lavish court ethos, including the individual mentioned in entry 11 as belonging to Walter Raleigh (Mr. Rawle) who as a newcomer to the court at this time was seeking patronage from Leicester and who may have given the man to Leicester to curry favor; see *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, ed. Adams, 210n444.
12. 13 February 1585/6, St. Margaret's, Westminster, christening: "Georg [sic] s. of John." *Memorials of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster: The Parish Registers 1539–1660*, ed. Arthur Meredyth Burke (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1914), p. 47.
13. 25 September 1586, St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, baptism: "Elizabeth, a negro child, born white, the mother a negro." "The Registers of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, London," Guildhall Library, London, MS 4515/1; *Registers of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, London*, ed. A. W. Cornelius Hallen, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1889–95), 1:115.
14. 20 October 1586, St. Margaret's, Westminster, burial: "Anthonye, A man of the Indians." *Memorials of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster*, ed. Burke, p. 448.
15. 22 October 1586, St. Botolph, Aldgate, burial: "Christopher Cappovert, a blackamoore who dyed in the whitbell of the high street was buryed the 22 October anno domini." "The Registers St. Botolph without Aldgate," Memoranda Books, Guildhall Library, London, MS 92341/1.
16. 19 February 1586/7, St. Olave, Tooley Street, Southwark, christening: "Edward, the sonne of Resonabell Blackman silkweaver." "Registers of St. Olave, Tooley Street," London Metropolitan Archives, London, MS X007/233.

- 17,18. 27 August 1587, St. Botolph without Aldgate, burial: "Domingo, being a ginny [Guinea] negar and being servant to the right worshipfull Sir William Wynter knight dwellingye in the abbey place being the manor house of East Smithfield was buryied." The Registers of St. Botolph without Aldgate, Memoranda Books, Guildhall Library, London, MS 9234/1.
 - ❖ Note: East Smithfield comprised at this time of the lightly populated and generally open areas east and south of Aldgate.
- 19,20. n. d. 1587, Court of Requests, Whitehall Palace, Westminster, lawsuit of a Portuguese physician named Hector Novimeis[sic] [Nunes] against the nonperformance of the African servant he has purchased from a sailor: "[He] utterly refuset to carry and serve him." National Archives REQ MS 2/164/117; Roslyn Knutson, "A Caliban in St. Mildred Poultry," in *Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions*, ed. Tesuo Kishi, Roger Pringle, and Stanley Wells (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1991), p. 116.
 - ❖ Note: The Court of Requests was usually at this time held in Whitehall palace. Hector Nunes was living at this time in Mark Lane in the parish of St. Olave, Hart Street; see Margaret Pelling and Frances White, "NONES, Hector," in *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550–1640 Database* (London, 2004), *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-physicians/1550-1640/nones-hector> (accessed 21 May 2016).
21. 8 January 1587/8, St. Ann, Blackfriars, burial: "Domyngo, a Blackmore." "Registers of St. Ann, Blackfriars," Guildhall Library, London, MS GL 4510/1; Knutson, "A Caliban in St. Mildred Poultry," p. 114.
 - ❖ Note: St. Ann, Blackfriars was in Blackfriars; see Henry A. Harben, "Anne (St.) Blackfriars—Archdeacon (Chapel of)," in *A Dictionary of London* (London, 1918), *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/dictionary-of-london/anne-blackfriars-archdeacon> (accessed 21 May 2016).
22. 28 January 1587/8, St. Olave, Hart Street, burial: "Mary, a blackamore from Dco-r [sic] Hector's." *Registers of St. Olave, Hart Street*, ed. W. Bruce Bannerman (London: Boworth, 1916), p. 121.
23. 6 June 1588, St. Olave, Hart Street, burial: "Isabell, a blackamore." *Registers of St. Olave, Hart Street*, ed. Bannerman, p. 121.
24. 29 June 1588, St. Olave, Hart Street, burial: "A man blackamoor laye in the street." *Registers of St. Olave, Hart Street*, ed. Bannerman, p. 121.
25. 30 January 1589/90, St. Andrew, Holborn, burial: "Sebrina, a blackamore wench." "Registers of St. Andrew, Holborn," Guildhall Library, London, MS 6673/1.
26. 5 September 1590, St. Olave, Hart Street, burial: "Francisco, a negro." *Registers of St. Olave, Hart Street*, ed. Bannerman, p. 123.
27. 13 July 1591, St. Olave, Hart Street, burial: "Grace, a nigro oute of Dcor [sic] Hector's." *Registers of St. Olave, Hart Street*, ed. Bannerman, p. 123.
28. 13 October 1592, St. Olave, Tooley Street, burial: "Jaime, d. of Reasonable, Blacmor." "Registers of St. Olave, Tooley Street," London Metropolitan Archives, London, MS X098/233.
 - ❖ Note: Reasonable is recorded as living in several locations around St. Saviour's Church directly to the west of this location, on the other side of London Bridge, as early as 1579; see Imtiaz Habib, "The Resonables of Boroughside, Southwark: An Elizabethan Black Family near the Rose Theater," *Shakespeare* 11.2 (2015): 135–56.
29. 16 October 1592, St. Olave, Tooley Street, burial: "Edmund, s. of Reasonable, blackmor." "Registers of St. Olave, Tooley Street," London Metropolitan Archives, London, MS X098/233.

30. 2 March 1592/3, St. Margaret's Lee, Lewisham, burial: "Cornelius Blacke a more, buried." "Registers of St. Margaret's Lee," Local Studies Centre, London Borough of Lewisham; cited by Loan Anim-Addo, *Sugar, Spices, and Human Cargo: An Early Black History of Greenwich* (Greenwich, UK: Greenwich Leisure Services, 1996), p. 6.
- ❖ Note: The parish of Lewisham, with the Church of St. Margaret's Lee at its center, was southeast of Southwark, straddling the border of Surrey and Kent; see Daniel Lysons, "Lewisham," in *The Environs of London, Volume 4*, electronic database, *British History Online*, at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-environs/vol4/pp514-536> (accessed 21 May 2016). The parish is currently under the diocese of Southwark.
31. n. d. 1593, Ward of Farringdon Without, London, Government City Survey: Without mentioning an exact location, the London City Survey of 1592 recorded "BANING, Alderman, Paul, in his house lodging three maids, 'blackmores.'" "Returns of 1593," in *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis, 1593, 1627, 1639: A Study of an Active Minority*, ed. Irene Scouladi (London: Huguenot Society Publications, 1985), p. 149.
- ❖ Note: Paul Baning or Bayning had residences in Mark Lane, St. Olave, Hart Street, and Walbrook, but in 1593 he purchased "a substantial city mansion" "next to the church of St. Mary Bothaw" in Dowgate Ward, just before or during his manipulative securing of his appointment as Alderman for nearby Farringdon Ward Without in 1593. To provide the grandeur and hospitality that the appointment entailed he probably brought into this mansion, from his business activities in Mark Lane, the three women that the city surveyors recorded; see Ian W. Archer, "Bayning, Paul (c. 1539–1616)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006; online edition, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52003> (accessed 3 June 2016); and Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives 1500–1677* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 78n50. The location shown is of his mansion in Dowgate Ward.
32. n. d. 1593, St. Olave, Hart Street, London Census: "Mouea, Lying, a 'blackamoor' of 20 years; at Mistress Barkers." "Returns of 1593," in *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis, 1593, 1627, 1639*, ed. Scouladi, p. 197.
33. 8 August 1593, St. Botolph without Aldgate, burial: "Suzanna Pearis a blackamore [bound?] servant to John Despinois [de Spinoza] a hat bandmaker." The Registers of St. Botolph without Aldgate, Register General 1571–93, Guildhall Library, London, MS 9222/1.
34. 20 August 1593, St. Botolph without Aldgate, burial: "Symon Valencia, a blackamore servant to Stephen [illegible, a medal maker . . .]." The Registers of St. Botolph without Aldgate, 1571–93, Register General, Guildhall Library, London, MS 9222/1.
35. 8 October 1593, St. Botolph without Aldgate, burial: "Cassangoe a black a moore servant to Mr Barber a marchaunte from his howse at the sign of the Red Crosse in the libertie of East Smithfield." The Registers of St. Botolph without Aldgate, Register General 1571–93, Guildhall Library, London, MS 9221/1.
- ❖ Note: The "sign of the Red Crosse" demarcates an inn.
36. 13 October 1593, St. Botolph without Aldgate, burial: "Easfanyo a negar sevant of Mr. Thamas Barber a merchaunt . . . his house . . . at the signe of Rood/Flood . . . in the liberties of East Smithfield." The Registers of St. Botolph without Aldgate, Memoranda books, Guildhall Library, London, MS 9221/1.
- ❖ Note: The "signe of the Rood" demarcates an inn.
37. 29 November 1593, St. Botolph without Aldgate, burial: "Robarte a negar servant to William Matthews a gentleman dwelling in a garden behind Mr. Quarles hys house and

neare unto hogge lane in the libertie of East Smithfield." The Registers of St. Botolph without Aldgate, Memoranda books, Guildhall Library, London, MS 9234/4.

❖ Note: Hogge Lane was the road curving west-northwest diagonally from behind St. Botolph without Aldgate and somewhat parallel to Houndsditch running in front of the church.

38. 24 August 1594, St. Stephen Coleman Street, London, burial: "Katherin the negar, dwelling with the Prince of Portugal." "Registers of St. Stephen Coleman Street," Guildhall Library, London, MS 4448.

❖ Note: The "Prince of Portugal" was the Portuguese claimant to the Spanish throne, Dom Antonio, maintained in exile in London by Elizabeth and at this time living in Windsor House in Farringdon Ward Within, a block to the west of St. Stephen, Coleman Street in Coleman Street Ward, and just below Cripplegate and inside the left wall of the city.

39. 2 November 1594, St. Margaret's, Westminster, burial: "Rebecca A Lucressa Moro." *Memorials of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster*, ed. Burke, p. 463.

40. 9 November 1594, St. Olave, Hart Street, London, burial: "Peter Marley a blacamore, *dire vira house* [from the fearfully diseased house]." *Registers of St. Olave, Hart Street*, ed. Bannerman, p. 127.

41. 23 January 1594/5, St. Olave, Hart Street, London, burial: "George, a blackamore oute of Mrs. Barkers." *Registers of St. Olave, Hart Street*, ed. Bannerman, p. 128.

42. 27 June 1595, St. Botolph without Bishopsgate, London, burial: "Domyngo Blacmore." *Registers of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, London*, ed. Hallen, 1:316.

43. 7 August 1595, St. Margaret's, Westminster, christening: "William Harris 'blackamoor baseborn.'" *Memorials of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster*, ed. Burke, p. 58.

44. 7 September 1595, St. Leonard's Shoreditch, baptism: "Susan, A black More's Childe was baptized. . . . Haliwell Street." "Registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch," Guildhall Library, London, MS 7493.

❖ Note: Haliwell [Holy Well] Street or Lane was diagonally in front of the church to its left. It was a theater precinct where the Theatre and Curtain playhouses were situated and also had gambling dens and bordellos all around it. Theater personnel—such as James, Richard, and Cuthbert Burbage and William Sly, among others—are buried at St. Leonard's Church.

45. 3 March 1595/6, St. Botolph without Aldgate, burial: "A Negar supposed to be named Frauncis, he was servant to Peter Miller a beare brewer." The Registers of St. Botolph without Aldgate, Memoranda Books, Guildhall Library, London MS 9234/5.

❖ Note: Thomas Forbes in *A Chronicle from Aldgate: Life and Death in Shakespeare's London* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1971) identified the location of Peter Miller as "dwelling at the signe of the hartes horne [the sign of the Hart's Horn, an inn] in the libertie of East Smithfield" (p. 4).

46. n. d. 1596, All Hallows, Staining, London, burial: "Received for the burial of a blak more." *Register of All Hallows Staining*, Vestry minutes, Guildhall Library, London, MS 4956/2; cited in Knutson, "A Caliban in St. Mildred Poultry," p. 114.

47. n. d. but between entries for 24 April and 20 May 1597, St. Mary Woolchurch Haw, London, burial: "a blackmore belonging to Mr. John Davies died in Whitechapel parishe, was laied in the ground in the church yarde *sine frequentia populi et sine ceremonis quia trum chrisianus esset necne nesciebamus* [without any company of people or ceremony, because we did not know whether he was a Christian or not]." Registers of St. Mary, Woolchurch Haw,

Guildhall Library, London, MS 7644; cited in Knutson, "A Caliban in St. Mildred Poultry," p. 116.

48. 5 May 1597, St. Thomas's Church, London, medical entry: "Polonia the blackmor maid at Mr Peirs of 12 years old . . . Lyk to vomit/ a fever in her bones faint harte full of melancholy & cold humors mixed with collars." Simon Forman's Casebooks, Ashmole Collections, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Entry for 5 May 1597, vol. 234.

❖ Note: Forman, the well-known theater fan and amateur physician, at this time "lived opposite St. Thomas's Church"; see Lauren Kassell, *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London: Simon Forman, Astrologist, Alchemist and Physician* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 210; and Barbara Traistor, *The Notorious Astrologer Physician of London: Works and Days of Simon Forman* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2001), 229n62. He may have had residences a few years earlier in St. Botolph, Billingsgate on the north bank of the Thames just east of London Bridge and in Philpot Lane north of St. Botolph, Billingsgate and running parallel to Gracious Street on its east.

49. 3 June 1597, St. Botolph without Aldgate, London, baptism: "Mary Phyllis A Blackamore beinge about Twenty yeres of age and dwelling with Millicent porter sempster." The Registers of St. Botolph without Aldgate, Guildhall Library, London, MS 9220.

50. 23 November 1598, St. Olave, Hart Street, London, burial: "Madelen, a Blackeamore [sic] out of Bernard's house." *Registers of St. Olave, Hart Street*, ed. Bannerman, p. 131.

- 51a. n. d. 1599, All Hallows, Barking, City Census and Tax Assessment: "Clare a Negra at Widdow Stokes (an Englishwoman)." *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, ed. R. E. G. and Kirk, 3:28.

- 51b. n. d. 1599, St. Dunstan (in the East), City Census and Tax Assessment: "Mary a Negra at Richard Woodes." *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, ed. R. E. G. and Kirk, 3:28.

- 51c. n. d. 1599, St. Olave Hart Street, City Census and Tax Assessment: "A blackamore servaunt to Jeronimo Lopez." *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I*, ed. R. E. G. and Kirk, 3:38.

52. 28 May 1599, London / Turnbull Street, Clerkenwell, private correspondence from Denis Edwards to Thomas Lankford, secretary of the Earl of Hartford: "my negres . . . I pray make inquiries for her, for she is sartanlye dwelinge in Tornebole street at the signe of the Swan . . . it is hard by Carken well. . . ." State Papers Domestic, Public Record Office, Surrey, UK, MS 270:119.

❖ Note: The location shown is of the woman mentioned.

53. 18 January 1600/1, St. Margaret's, Westminster, christening: "Susan ethiop." *Memorials of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster*, ed. Burke, p. 65.

54. 29 March 1601, St. Mary Bothaw, London, baptism: "Julyane a blackamoore servant with Alldermane [sic] Banyнге of the age of 22 yeares . . . was baptised and named Marye." Registers of St. Mary Bothaw, Guildhall Library, London, MS 4310.

55. 21 January 1601/2, St. Clements Dane, Westminster, burial: "Fortunatus a blackmoor seruant to Sr[sic] Robert Cecil." Registers of St. Clements Dane, City of Westminster Archives, London.

❖ Note: Robert Cecil, the Earl of Salisbury, who had by this time succeeded his father William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, as the most powerful officer of Elizabeth's cabinet, resided in this parish when in London.

56. 18 March 1602, St. Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney Tower Hamlets, London, baptism: "Christian Ethiopia borne of a Blackmore." Registers of St. Dunstan and All Saints,

Stepney Tower Hamlets, London Metropolitan Archives, London, MS P93/DUN/255.

❖ Note: Stepney Tower Hamlets was about a mile east of the Tower in the dockyard area of Ratcliffe.

57. 29 July 1603, St. Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney Tower Hamlets, London, baptism: "Charity Lucanea a blacamore . . . from Ratcliffe." Registers of St. Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney Tower Hamlets, London Metropolitan Archives, London, MS P93/DUN/255.